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178 formerly, and the social cleavages symbolized in this habit are no longer
184 so drastic as before. On the other hand, when the Golibdaana, in his overweening conceit, tried to copy the dress and the court procedure of
178 a Mampuru chief, there was wide indignation. The Chief of Tongo,
184 with whom he thus sought to equate himself, protested with such vigour
626 to the District Commissioner that the latter ordered the Golibdaana to stop his new practices. A man of enormous wealth and great power failed to get away with an innovation prepared with extravagant expense, because it ran counter to the politico-ritual structure of the society. He would never, incidentally, have dared to attempt this in former times, or, for that matter, have had the motive to do so. His behaviour is due to the arrogance of newly acquired wealth and power. But Tale institutions are still too strongly integrated to give way to such blatant subversion.

613 The notions of the continuity, persistence, and stability of their culture and social organization, so vital for the Tale outlook on life, have their roots in the lineage system. The whole social system of the Tallensi hinges on their lineage system with its religious counterpart, an elaborate ancestor cult. Unbroken continuity of descent, persistence of self-identical corporate units, stability of settlement—these are the intrinsic characteristics of the Tale lineage system. It requires the assumption, which the ancestor cult places beyond question, that the social structure of to-day is the same as it was in the past.

173 The Tallensi, therefore, have no history in the sense of a body of
773 authentic records of past events. The memories and reminiscences of
578 the old men are parts of their biographies and never contribute to the building up of a body of socially preserved history. Their myths and legends are one means of rationalizing and defining the structural relationships of group to group or the pattern of their institutions. Some of them have perhaps been built up around events which actually occurred and people who actually lived. It is, for example, quite probable that the Namoos actually came from Mampurugu originally, and that Mosuor really lived. The ancestor cult, the settled life, and the whole cultural idiom of the Tallensi lend support to such an inference, but there is no objective evidence. Tale myths and legends counterfeit history; they do not document it. They are a part of Tale social philosophy, projected into the past because the people think of their social order as continuous and persistent, handed down from generation to generation. A myth or a legend postulates a beginning for what has existed thus ever since. Even in our civilization naïve philosophers try to understand their society by similar devices. In the elaborately differentiated structure of Tale society there are regions of high tension where groups are coupled together in polar opposition and regions of low tension where the units of structure are articulated in complementary relations to one another. The myths epitomize the factors which differentiate one group from another. The greater the differentiation at any point the more elaborate is the legend. Hence we find the most definitive and conspicuous legend, that of Mosuor, associated with the relationship of greatest tension, that of the Namoos to the Talis. We find, also, that the emphasis of a myth is on the relationships which most precisely define the structural position

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of his lineage or clan, other than those whom he describes as his 'fathers' or 'sons'.

Every Tale clan is anchored to a particular locality from which it takes its name. In the central area of Taleland, around the Tong Hills, the present clan settlements appear to date back not less than eight to ten generations. But they have not been and are not territorially static. There are no strict territorial boundaries between adjacent settlements. The homesteads of a settlement merge with those of the adjacent settlements, and the boundaries between them are definable only in social terms, as a function of their ecological and politico-ritual relations at a given time. In the same way every segment of a clan—that is, each of its component maximal lineages—is anchored to a local subdivision of the clan settlement, though many of its members may be dispersed elsewhere.

A striking feature of Tale social organization is the system of inter-clan linkages which constitutes one of the principal forces of cohesion in the society. The genealogically and socially autonomous maximal lineage or clan is not a closed group. The component maximal lineages that form the segments of adjacent clans have ties of clanship identical with those that unite them to one another within their respective clans. Thus if two adjacent clans have segments A, B, C, and D, E, F, G, respectively, then A (but not B or C) may have clanship ties with D (but not with E, F, or G); B may have clanship ties only with E, and C with F. Each of these maximal lineages also has clanship ties with segments of other neighbouring clans. Thus each component maximal lineage of a clan has a field of clanship that includes the other segments of the clan as well as segments of other clans. This results in a network of interlocking clanship ties that embraces all the separate clans of Taleland. All the Talis clans and the main block of Namoo clans are interlocked in this way in two clusters which are in turn similarly connected at certain points. Moreover, this system of linkages ties the Tale aggregate on to adjacent clans of other neighbouring 'tribes'. Thus we observe that at this level of social structure—the skeletal level, so to speak—as in its territorial and cultural relationship to neighbouring 'tribes', Tale society is a segment of a greater society. The network of inter-clan linkages is one of the principal factors by which the socio-geographic region we have called Taleland is differentiated as a distinct segment of this greater society.

It is also one of the main factors of social equilibrium in Tale society. Dissension between neighbouring clans is kept in check by the mediation of maximal lineages linked by identical ties to both; and warfare is inhibited from disrupting the entire social order by the intervention of social and ritual obligations arising *inter alia* out of the fact that enemies are related directly or indirectly by clanship ties. It is this, in part, that gives Tale wars the complexion of acute family quarrels.

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754 602 [593] dies of small-pox—and that the decision was not accepted as conclusive by her *saarət* whom it directly implicated. A proven witch's uterine kin, her children in particular, felt the shame for a time, but they were not publicly stigmatized or penalized. Even the husband of an apparently guilty woman would, judging by what happens nowadays, very often continue privately to believe in her innocence; and if he admitted her guilt would not allow this to influence his relations with his children by her.

754 574 602 The public attitude to a witch nowadays is illustrated by the following case which occurred during my stay among the Tallensi. A young man from Yinduuri went to visit a kinsman at Moyaduur. Arriving at his kinsman's house, he was offered some cold porridge by an old woman of the house who happened to be the only person at home. Now, cold porridge is not a dish to offer to a guest. The poorest native would blush with shame if he had nothing better to put before a visitor. But in this instance the young man was weary and hungry after a long tramp. His kinsman was not at home to offer him more seemly hospitality and the old woman had nothing else. So he accepted it gladly.

754 627 787 Later in the day, on his way home, the youth was suddenly taken ill with what soon proved to be acute dysentery. He at once thought of the old woman's cold porridge and told his family of this when he reached home. Next day he died. Thereupon his father accused the old woman of having bewitched the youth through the medium of the cold porridge, and so caused his death. Her unconventional hospitality and the sequence of events seemed to leave no doubt about her guilt. There was, it is true, no obvious motive, but this was not taken into consideration. Indeed, as one man remarked, the youth was himself partly to blame, for no self-respecting adult would eat cold porridge at someone else's house. However, the old woman was sent for and the matter submitted to divination. As the dead youth's clansmen had no doubt about her guilt, it is not to be wondered at that the diviner declared her to have bewitched him. In vain she protested her innocence. The head of the youth's maximal lineage told all his people to mock (*wool*) her with a derisive chant. Neighbouring clans took up the chant, as she passed on her way home, and some weeks later it was made the theme of one of the dance songs of the Golib Festival. 'Wherever she goes', my informants said, 'men, women, and children will look askance at her and jeer at her for being a witch. Shame and grief will dog her, and she will pine away and die.' It was for fear of this kind of public ostracism that anyone accused of being a witch in the old days insisted on undergoing the arrow ordeal. [626]

754 [771] The main reason why witchcraft is of minor significance in Tale mystical thought is because the elaborate ancestor cult and the Earth cult deal adequately with most social and psychological tensions in terms consistent with the total social structure. The idea of witchcraft is not

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never undertakes anything of importance without consulting Yikpɛmdaan; Yikpɛmdaan need never be in want of a sheep or goat to sacrifice if there are sheep and goats in Tinta'alɔm's house. If any member of the lineage segment of which Tinta'alɔm is the head gets into difficulty, he goes at once to Yikpɛmdaan for counsel and help.

A more telling case is that of Lɔyani and Gai. They belong to different segments of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra.[1] Many years ago Gai quarrelled with the elders of the maximal lineage over the succession to the lineage *bɔyar*. The Yakɔra Tɛndaana of the time took an oath binding all the people of Yakɔra to have nothing to do with Gai in jural and ritual matters until he apologized and a ritual reconciliation was made. Gai and his family keep aloof from all corporate activities of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra. He has obstinately rejected several indirect advances made to him suggesting a reconciliation. One day there was a funeral at Gai's house, and I called to see how a man who is virtually ostracized by his clan would manage an affair that is usually a corporate activity of the whole clan. Finding no other Yakɔra people at the funeral, I went round to Lɔyani's house afterwards. We discussed Gai and his affairs; and Lɔyani, with that blunt candour that has won him general esteem, told me the whole story. Gai's conduct, Lɔyani concluded, was specially distressing to him. 'For', said he, with a trace of bitterness, 'Gai is my *soog*. I should be the one to go to his help immediately and to support him in all his troubles. But if I did, would not the people of Zubiuŋ say that I was breaking faith? Would I not be rejecting the oath of the late (Yakɔra) Tɛndaana? And so I can do nothing.'

In this case Lɔyani's position of influence and responsibility in the maximal lineage compels him to put the interests of lineage unity before those of his *soog*, and Gai's obduracy makes it more difficult for him to compromise. The case of Ɔndieso and Nɛna'ab, who are also *saarɔt* belonging to different segments of the same maximal lineage, is more usual. They 'borrow (*pɛŋ*)' things from each other on the same principle as do members of an expanded family. Normally, if a man borrows something from a member of a lineage segment other than his own, it is a debt that must be repaid in due course. Eight or nine years ago, Ɔndieso borrowed a goat from Nɛna'ab's son. No request was ever made for repayment; but about three years later, Nɛna'ab borrowed three shillings from Ɔndieso; and this was tacitly understood, by both, to have cancelled the debt of the goat. In 1936 an ancient quarrel between Ɔndieso's segment and Nɛna'ab's segment that had been dormant for years flared up again owing to a dispute over the inheritance of a widow. For some months the two segments were completely estranged, the more so as the head of Nɛna'ab's segment had taken the dispute to the chief and so brought the slur of publicity on the head of Ɔndieso's segment. Just then there was a death in Nɛna'ab's family;

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vi, passim.

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592 361 no foundation in fact. The climate, the kind of raw material which is plentifully at hand, the economic system, and the social organization of the natives rather than the alleged lawlessness of former times, determine their mode of house-building. In any case, homesteads very often stand closer than fifty paces together, the distance at which a mediocre shot can hit a tree—though I have seen an arrow carry four times that distance.

592 181 A Talən's home is his castle in the psychological rather than the material sense. It is the centre and fount of his major interests, his dominant purposes, his deepest emotional attachments, and his whole scheme of values; it is his shelter, his storehouse, the stage of his life's drama. The Tallensi, unlike many African peoples, have no age sets or initiation schools. A person grows up and receives his entire education at home. If he practises a craft, such as leatherwork, or is a diviner, his home is his workshop or consulting place.

As an adult, all his economic enterprise issues from his home and is devoted primarily to its upkeep. Unless he is one of the few *nouveaux riches* of to-day he keeps all his material possessions there, and houses all his livestock within its walls. His sex life, in maturity, is centred there. His children, the supreme object of his aspirations, are born and grow up in his home under his care and control. He worships his immediate forbears there. His personal destiny, past, present, and future, revolves about his home, its stages perpetuated in the many shrines and other ritual objects that are housed in it. He receives his friends and relatives at home, and dispenses hospitality there; and if he [461] has nothing to do would as lief recline under the shade tree at his own gateway as go making calls on others. Even the young men who like gallivanting about the markets spend much of their leisure at home.

592 181 626 The quintessence of his home, to a Talən, resides in his children, and above all his sons, the vehicles of his immortality. That is the essential meaning of *mar yiri*, 'to have a house'. Ask any native what happens to a man who does not adequately expiate a sacrilege such as murder. '*U yiri ŋmaarəmẹ*—his house will fall to pieces,' is the answer, given with emphatic and solemn conviction, and often with circumstantial illustrations from experience or hearsay. A parent curses an insubordinate child, a chief or tendaana curses a clansman who has grossly insulted him, '*u ku nye yiri*—he will not see (i.e. have) a house', that is, he will die without offspring to perpetuate his line and to sacrifice to his spirit; and this is an extremely serious matter. It never fails to bring the culprit to heel with humble apologies. On the other hand, '*i na nye yiri*—you will have a house', is the most propitious blessing a diviner can convey to a man from his ancestor spirits.

592 593 Patrilocal residence and the tendency for the lineage to be localized give a man's domestic life greater continuity than a woman's. His natal family and his conjugal family are both strung on the same

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684 577 man does not even have sexual desire for a sister or a daughter. This is the standard, conscious, sexual attitude to a sister and it is in keeping with the conscious attitude about incest with a sister or daughter. Such an act is spoken of as tabooed (*kih*), but it is neither a crime nor a sin. It is simply despicable conduct that the culprits ought to be ashamed of as unworthy of grown persons. Even children talk of copulation with a sibling as something beneath contempt, though, in fact, it is common knowledge that up to the age of about 8 or 9 boys often try to have sexual intercourse with a small girl playmate in their play and for the most part playmates are close lineage siblings. Adults reprove the children if they discover them in this kind of play, but dismiss it as due to childish irresponsibility.[1] This, indeed, is the essence of the general attitude towards incest with a sister or daughter. It is disreputable, because it does not conform to the accepted standards of responsible adult conduct. Only in the case of incest with a full (*soog*) sister is there a feeling of horror. It is felt to be unlucky in a vague way. She is the person of the opposite sex with whom a man is most fully identified. What is more important, she perpetuates their mother's uterine line and therefore stands for the indestructibility of the unique bond between mother and child. Sexual intercourse with her would be almost like incest with one's own mother; and this feeling is extended to distant female uterine kin (*saarət*) as well.

Incest with a mother, a brother's wife, or a daughter-in-law is in a different class of reprehensible acts. It is a taboo for a man even to sit on the sleeping-mat of a woman related to him in any of these ways (and thus, we may presume, symbolically betraying a wish to seduce her). To have intercourse with her is a very grievous sin. It is utterly repugnant to Tale morality.

684 577 539 Incest with one's own mother the natives regard as a thing of such monstrous iniquity that it is ridiculous to conceive of anyone who is not mentally deranged committing it. Incest with a father's wife, other than one's own mother, or a brother's or son's wife is almost as heinous a sin and is regarded with little less horror; but it is known to happen sometimes. In one of the cases that occurred during my stay in Taleland, a man raped his father's elderly wife (his own dead mother's co-wife), whom he called '*ma-pit* (younger mother)'; in the other, a notoriously dissolute young man seduced his father's brother's wife, whom he would also describe as '*ma-pit*'. Both were publicly derided in the songs sung during the dances of the Great Festivals. One of the songs about the second man went as follows:

[626 533]

> Badiemaal (his name) you who rape vaginas, Oh!
> Bakyɛlbanɔya (the woman) is a slut.
> Zimbil-Badiemaal is a dog.

[1] Cf. my *Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland*, Memorandum XVII, International African Institute, 1938.

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By contrast, sex relations with the wife of a member of the same lineage or clan outside the range of the inner lineage is a wrong. It is not incest, but the most reprehensible form of adultery. It does not bear the same moral stigma as the corresponding form of incest, nor does it carry religious penalties for the adulterer. Unless the two men concerned have personal cognatic ties, which makes the offence more serious, they are related to each other only as members of related lineage segments. Their personal identity is submerged in the corporate unit, and the offence is interpreted as an injury to the husband's segment by the culprit's segment of a like order. What is a moral and ritual offence in the inner lineage shades over into a misdemeanour or jural injury in the wider lineage. The shift of evaluation is correlated with a change in the intensity though not in the kind of interests involved, and a widening of the span of the unit. The wider lineage has similar but less direct interests in a man's wife than his inner lineage; its unity and solidarity are of the same order as, but less intimate than that of the inner lineage. It has a jural and political unity and solidarity, primarily associated with formal sentiments of amity and mutual loyalty; whereas the cohesion of the inner lineage (based as it is on common economic interests, co-operation and consultation in the everyday affairs of life, contiguous residence, and minimal internal segmentation for jural purposes such as marriage arrangements with other lineages) is primarily moral, and associated with strong emotions of person-to-person amity and loyalty. Thus, beyond the range of the inner lineage, when the customary ritual reconciliation between the segment of the adulterer and the segment of the husband has been completed, the matter is over and done with so far as the public relations of the parties are concerned. No material compensation is made to the husband, and, in the absence of a judicial system, there is no one who can inflict a penalty on the adulterer. The wronged husband may harbour resentment against his wife's seducer; the magical danger inherent in their seeing each other if either is ill remains as a barrier between them; but the corporate unity of the lineage and clan to which they both belong is restored.

Still, adultery with the wife of a clansman or of a member of a linked maximal lineage[1] (to which the same rules apply) creates dissension in the corporate body. It violates the principle that all men of the clan have a formally equal interest in the wife of a fellow member. It leaves behind rankling animosity that hinders united action. For these reasons it usually arouses an outburst of anger against the wrongdoer. Public opinion is a strong sanction against it therefore. Though cases are far from common, they occur more frequently than the corresponding form of incest. I was able to obtain details of a few cases that occurred immediately before and during my stay in Taleland. In one case the husband and his brothers were so outraged that they fell upon the offender in his

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[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vi.

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835 •626 Finally, the prohibition of sexual relations between father and daughter or brother and sister in the expanded family also links up with this complex. Tallensi say that if a man's daughter becomes pregnant before marriage he will hasten to marry her off as soon as possible, if she does not elope with a suitor of her own accord. A man once told me that people do this for fear that it might be said of them, 'Oh, so-and-so is not marrying his daughter off because he wants to keep her for a wife for himself'. I do not know if this statement accurately represents the way men feel the pressure of public opinion in cases of this sort; but it is an accurate indication of the feeling that a woman's procreative powers are out of place in her father's home and belong properly to her husband's home.

The Adjustment of Co-Wives to One Another

595 We have still to consider one of the main problems of adjustment that face a woman in her husband's family, her relations with her co-wives (*nentaa*, pl. *nentaas*). These include both her husband's other wives and his brothers' wives. A woman refers to a co-wife as 'younger (or older) sibling of the same sex (*pit* or *bier*)', and addresses her by her clan sobriquet, e.g. Namooga. A woman's children describe her co-wives as 'mother' (*ma*), with the suffix *pit* or *bier* according as she is junior or senior to their own mother, and address her as 'mother of such-and-such a clan', e.g. *ma Namooga*.

Women do not, as a rule, object to their husbands having other wives as well. Indeed, it often happens that a monogamist's wife presses him to marry again so that there should be someone to share the work of the household with her, or even takes the initiative in finding another wife for him. It is quite common for women to bring younger clan sisters, or a brother's daughter, a sister's daughter, or a daughter of a mother's brother's lineage, to live with them with a view to their eventually marrying their husbands or husbands' brothers. From such marriages spring cognatically related matri-segments of a lineage, with a special link through their progenitrices in addition to their agnatic ties.

Through this custom of fetching in (*pie na*) a kinswoman-wife (*poya-soog*) one often finds women related by kinship married into the same joint family or the same expanded family. But this is not a preferential marriage. It is due simply to the inertia of kinship. A woman who wants to bring a girl into her husband's house usually does so because she has need of someone to help her with the care of an infant or because she is ill or elderly and has no daughter or daughter-in-law to relieve her of the heaviest domestic tasks. And she looks naturally to her kinsfolk, upon whom she has claims by right of birth, to provide her with a suitable girl. Again, though the Tallensi do not like two full or half-sisters to marry the same man or to marry into the same joint family, it is not a taboo. A man who particularly likes his son-in-law and his people

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commits a *faux pas*, or shows lack of understanding, or misbehaves morally the comment is *u ka yam*, 'he has no sense'. The concept is used to refer both to qualities of personality and to attributes of behaviour. It is applied also in a genetic sense to describe the social development of the child. A normal child between the ages of about 6 and 9 years is said to 'have sense at length'. It knows how to behave in the social situations which confront it, whereas an infant of 3 or 4 years old does not. Yet a 4-year-old having learned bladder and bowel control is said to 'have sense' as compared with a 2-year-old. Similarly Nindoyat, (17–18 years) telling me of his sweethearting, waxed scornful about his own boyish friendship with girls two years before. 'I still had no sense then', he explained. The concept, it will be seen, is generally used relatively to a particular situation.

Children's attitude to education. In Tale society every pupil becomes in some situations a teacher. At the one extreme there are specialized ritual performances which some men do not learn till they are grey, and at the other, the toddler leaning over to play with his nursling brother is teaching the latter something about his environment. This holds right through the age-scale. Considering also the unity of the social sphere, one is not surprised to find that children have the same attitudes about education as their elders. Hence children are rarely unwilling to learn. As a rule, too, they are not ashamed of confessing failure, ignorance, or inability to do or make something. Conversely, children laugh good-humouredly at one another's deficiencies in skill or knowledge, they never jeer. Ridicule is reserved for the correction of uncouth manners, disgraceful morals, or aberrant interests.

Fundamental educational relationships. It will be evident from the preceding analysis that Tale children receive their education not only from the adults but also from older children and adolescents who are always transmitting what they know of the cultural heritage to their younger brothers and sisters and cousins. From the age of 5 or 6 years until they become fully absorbed into the economic system children often go about in small groups. These groups[1] usually consist of

[1] See M. Fortes, 'Kinship, Incest and Exogamy in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast', in *Custom is King*, 1936, for ancillary information about these groups. Also M. and S. L. Fortes, 'Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi', *Africa*, ix, 1936, for an outline of their structural context.

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183 ing the correct observances has many points in common with learning
867 skills, but there is a significant difference. When a child is learning a skill he has the test of objective achievement to evaluate his progress and to stimulate him to further effort; when he is learning how to behave properly the only test of attainment is the reaction of other people and his own sense of the adequacy or inadequacy of his conduct.
●[626] One can observe, in consequence, that both children and adults are very sensitive to ridicule of a lapse in manners or morals but are fairly indifferent to ridicule of poor skill. The contrast between observances and skills is evident when we compare the way in which a child learns to model clay figures, gradually perfecting his technique, with the 'all or none' way, associated sometimes with corporal punishment, in which he is taught to respect other people's property, or the way he is taught his totemic taboos.

867 Among the Tallensi, as in many other primitive societies, manners and morals are acquired almost as a by-product of the normal social relations between the growing child and the people who constitute his or her social space. The unity of the social sphere and the expectation of normal behaviour have a correspondingly greater influence than in the acquisition of skills and interests. But the critical factor is the tension inherent in the fundamental educational relationships, the authority of parent over child and of senior over junior.

861 In Tale ideology this is epitomized in the danger attributed to a
593 parent's resentment. If any one who has reached years of discretion behaves in such a way as to incur the resentment and hostility of a parent, some calamity will certainly befall him or her unless he comes formally to beg forgiveness and the injured parent ritually abjures his or her anger.[1] It very often happens that two children of about the same age and members of a single joint family are related as parent and child. They can be seen playing together amicably, squabbling at times, and working together. But when the 'child' is questioned about his playmate, he will say: *nzorumi, on ndɔyam la zugu*, 'I fear (respect) him, because he begot me.' This is not merely a formula. Sinkawol (aged 23–5) used to order his 'father', Kyekambe (aged

[1] The connexion between one particular aspect of Tale morality, their notion of incest, and the background of kinship has been discussed in my paper on 'Kinship, Incest and Exogamy', loc. cit.

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867 amused. When the child's mother tried to soothe her she first
856 struggled and struck at her, venting her chagrin on her mother. It was
861 fully ten minutes before her mother was able to quieten her by playing with her and distracting her by making her a toy of wet clay. 'They will laugh at him (or her)' or 'His comrades will laugh at him' is the commonest motive alleged for correct behaviour. If you ask a boy of 6 or 7 why he no longer plays with the little girls he says, 'If I do my comrades will laugh at me'; and little girls say the same. Adolescents, talking about their sweethearts, who are usually clan
● [626] 'sisters', explain why they avoid the girls of their own section—'because our comrades will find out and laugh at us'; and the adult is equally sensitive to public opinion.

183 *The total pattern and its genetic development.* We have seen that these categories of social behaviour are not learnt in isolation one from the other but as patterns in which interests, elements of skill, and observances are combined. The Tale housewife, going several miles into the bush to collect firewood, is using knowledge of the bush tracks and of the best places for firewood acquired over a period of years; but she is impelled also by the sense of duty to her family and her own self-esteem. The Tale farmer's devotion to his agricultural pursuits is due to a passionate interest in land and crops and to a sense of moral responsibility towards his family and his ancestor spirits. His skill is but one of the factors that affect his general efficiency.

183 These total patterns which constitute the texture of Tale cultural
867 behaviour are not built up bit by bit, by addition, during the course
155 of a child's life. They are present as *schemas*[1] from the beginning. My observations suggest that the course of development is somewhat as follows: at first the child acquires a well-defined interest associated with a postural diagram of the total pattern. The postural diagram is, as it were, a contour map, extremely simplified and crude but comprehending the essential elements and relations of the full pattern. Further experience strengthens and amplifies the interest at the same time as it causes the details of the postural diagram to be filled out, making it more and more adaptable and controllable, producing more

[1] I have taken this concept from Prof. F. C. Bartlett's *Remembering*, pp. 199 ff., though its bald application here hardly does justice to the significance given to it by Prof. Bartlett, and to its value for an understanding of primitive education.

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The principal disputes, however, concern the tribute due to the owner of the pool. Morally his rights are beyond question and are never denied. But except for members of the owner's immediate family, who will eventually receive a share of the tribute, a moral obligation of this sort counts for nothing in practice without effective sanctions. Hence the owner sees to it that members of his family are dispersed amongst the crowd in the water. These young men keep a sharp watch and do not hesitate to take by force the fish which they regard as their rightful tribute. The owner himself often enters the pool to assist in the police work. Those who contest the confiscation of their fish do so in vain. Not only will public opinion not support them, but the owner's "policemen" would not hesitate to give them a drubbing. A maternal kinsman, sister's son, or in-law relation of the owner is, however, allowed to keep his first fish, unless his catch is large, in virtue of kinship. This is a concession which the owner might also make to his personal friends, and not a right.

One obligation, by contrast, is never evaded. Young crocodiles are sometimes caught, and the owner of the fetish is entitled to the hind legs and tail of every crocodile caught. This is the perquisite of his *bayar* one part of which, the hoe shaft, will be covered with the skin of a crocodile tail thus delivered to him. Not only is it very difficult to conceal the capture of a crocodile, but the supernatural penalties of evasion—certain injury from a crocodile in a future fishing expedition being the least of them—dare not be risked.

Fishing continues thus from about 1.30 p.m. to 4 p.m., or in a well stocked pool, to 5 p.m. The exodus commences sporadically. People who had earlier in the day been cutting hoe shafts or rafters, collecting firewood, or medicinal herbs, come out first to complete these tasks. Finally, when only a few remain in the pool, the owner of the fetish goes down to pull up his *bayar*. As he does this, he shouts to those remaining to come out. The removal of the axe shaft is the signal that the fishing is over.

The catch in such expeditions varies greatly. The tribute received by the owner of the pool may be taken as a rough index of the catch. In the three expeditions in which I participated the owner's tribute varied from six to fifteen medium and large fish. The last pool was exceptionally prolific and was fished on two successive days. I estimated the number of men—men only fished on the first day—at about four hundred; on this occasion the catch was declared to be enormous, surpassing all expectations. Few people left empty handed. But on the other hand, nobody had more than four medium or large fish, which would be taken home and divided up within each man's immediate family. The best proof of the paucity of the catch relative to the population fishing and of the valuation of fish as a delicacy rather than as an addition to the food supply, was that throughout the fishing month fish caught on these expeditions never appeared for sale at the market.

Clearly too, communal fishing does not benefit the owner of the pool much materially. However large his tribute, the net gain to himself is small since he distributes much of it to others—men of rank and elders who attend the fishing as an expression of clan loyalty